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ABSTRACT

The increasing need of black high school students for guidance and career counseling prompted this research. Seven hundred eighty-four members of the Coatesville (Pennsylvania) graduating classes of 1969 and 1970, of whom 20% were black, returned useable questionnaires for analysis. Five major concerns were explored: (1) how black and white pupils compare as to post high school plans and the role they attribute to outside influences; (2) whether counselors are fulfilling their responsibilities to black students; (3) the part that race plays in the counseling process; (4) the effects of social distance; and (5) the attitudes the 2 groups have toward guidance. Few significant differences are reported, although black males realized their educational aspirations less frequently and felt that there were more barriers to the attainment of their post-high school plans. Also, while blatant racism did not characterize the school climate, blacks did feel that their needs were insufficiently considered. A number of broad recommendations for the school guidance program are offered. Appended are some materials used in the project. (TL)

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. 9B159
Grant No. OEG-2-700015 (509)

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FACTORS INFLUENCING THE POST-HIGH SCHOOL PLANS OF BLACK AND WHITE PUPILS

June 15, 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
National Center of Educational Research and Development

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New Report

Project No. 9 B 159
Group No. 0 E G - 2 - 7000 15 (509)

Factors Influencing the Post High School Plans of Black and White Pupils of the Coatesville, Pa. School District

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June 15, 1971

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
National Center for Educational Research and Development

Abstract of Project No. 9 B 159

The problem which promoted this research was the increasing need of black high school students for guidance & career counseling. These black youths from poverty neighborhoods need to overcome ghetto apathy & the lack of awareness of their parents of career possibilities for their children. This problem was brought to the attention of the Institute for Community Affairs of Lincoln University by the School Board of Coatesville when it requested its assistance in making a study of the vocational guidance department with special attention to the contrasting experiences of its black and white pupils. This study was undertaken in March 1969 and concluded in 1970. The questions to be explored included:

1. How do black & white pupils compare as to a) their post high school plans b) the role which outside influence plays.
2. Are the counselors measuring up to the responsibilities they owe the black students?
3. What part does race play in the counseling process?
4. What are the effects of social distance?
5. What are the attitudes to guidance on the part of both groups?

The samples studied were the members of Coatesville graduating classes of 1969 & 1970. Those who returned useable questionaires included a total of 422 in 1969 and 362 in 1970. Twenty per cent of all respondents were black, almost all came from families that were blue collar and long time residents of Coatesville.

The findings revealed -

1. Both groups did not differ much in their post high school plans though the black male group did plan more for semi-professional & skilled careers.
2. External influences played less of a role in vocational interests than personal reasons in both groups.
3. Traditional counseling systems need reassessments in view of these results.
4. Black students felt that their needs were not being considered sufficiently.
5. Black males reported slightly more barriers. Despite this feeling they expressed high hopes and determination for the future.
6. Blacks also revealed less reliance on altruistic & scientific values.
7. Life goals of both graduating classes showed greater differences by sex than by race.
8. Social distances studied indicated:
   a. Blatant racism is not the climate of the school.
   b. Teachers show greater acceptance of race.
   c. Blacks & whites show clearer preference for own race.
   d. Blacks showed greater emphasis on race than white pupils or teachers.
9. Parents of both racial groups seemed to lack knowledge & awareness
10. Black males reported in disproportionate numbers that they did not realize their educational aspirations.

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Supplements:

"Black and White Perspectives on the Future"

"Race as a Component of Social Distance Among Black and White Secondary Students and Their Teachers"

Introduction

The Board of Education of the Coatesville Area School District, Coatesville, Pennsylvania, and the local NAACP chapter jointly requested the Institute for Community Affairs of Lincoln University to undertake an analysis and study in depth of aspects of their school system with particular reference to the relations of the races and the education of blacks.

Coatesville, Pennsylvania, is an industrial town of approximately 15,000 people. The proximity of the town to the southern border made it a convenient settlement for Negro migrants, who became workers in its single large industry (Lukens Steel Company). They now form approximately 25% of the population. In the Coatesville Area School System there are approximately 8,000 pupils from Coatesville and neighboring townships and boroughs. About 1,300 are in high school and 25% of of these are black.

Though there were no specific situations or crises which stirred the NAACP in Coatesville to ask the School Board to undertake an investigation, there seemed to exist a feeling that black students were not getting their fair share in guidance, particularly in view of the new climate of rising expectations in the black community. The Director of the I.C.A. meeting with members of the School Board and the NAACP helped them to crystallize their thinking and to define their problems more precisely in terms that are investigable and for which financing may be secured. After several meetings, the following questions emerged:

1. How do black pupils in a senior high school compare with white pupils in respect to their post-high school plans?

2. What part does race play in the reported influence upon post-high school plans?

3. To what extent do parents of black children influence their vocational ambitions?

4. How do the post graduation career experiences of the black students compare to white students?

5. To what extent does the self-image of the black child change from the time he enters elementary school to the time he graduates?

6. Are the high school counselors measuring up to the responsibilities they owe to the black student body?

To build a working team and secure expertise, the I.C.A. secured the cooperation of the School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania, the Commission on Human Relations of Pennsylvania, and the Department of Psychology of Lincoln University. Financial support came from grants which I.C.A. received from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Dr. Julian L. Greifer, Director of I.C.A., acted as administrator and coordinator of the studies.

The team was composed of Dr. Arthur A. Dole, Professor of Education, Dr. William Passons and Burness Broussard, of the Graduate School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania. They were assisted by James Syphers, of I.C.A., and Sociology Instructor at Lincoln University, and students of Dr. Greifer's classes at Lincoln University, and members of the administration staff and faculty of the Coatesville Area School District.

The main concerns as viewed by the team may be summarized along these lines.

It was considered important for the school authorities to be aware of the differences as they may exist between the white and Negro high school students in their vocational expectations, expectations of their parents, and the extent to which the school authorities and others may influence these expectations. Despite stimulus for higher career aspirations provided by the contemporary revoluationary climate and the upsurge of black militancy, many young blacks are still bound

to an earlier apathy and see themselves destined for low level jobs. Another aspect concerned the values of the Negro adolescent and how they are affected by their peers in the streets. These influences may often be socially detrimental and, thus, with the lack of peer encouragement and the limited horizon of his parents, the black high school students may need the services of the school counselor more than any of his school mates.

An examination of the effect of the total school experience on the self-esteem of the black pupil was included as another possible measure of school effectiveness in relation to its minority community. This exploration was undertaken by Dr. Henry Cornwell, Chairman of Lincoln University's Psychology Department.

Reports Submitted and Studies Completed

Between May 1969 and February 1971, the following studies were carried out:

	Date
1. Plans of 1969 Coatesville Seniors Drs. A. Dole and W. Passons	Oct. 1969
2. Plans of 1970 Coatesville Seniors Burness Broussard	Nov. 1970
3. Black and White Perpsectives of the Future (based on 1969 Study) Drs. A. Dole and W. Passons	March 1970
4. Race as a Component of Social Distance Among Black and White Secondary School Students and Their Teachers Drs. A. Dole, W. Passons, B. Broussard	March 1971
5. Black and White Attitudes about Guidance Observations from the Field Burness Broussard	April 1971

6. Barriers and Aspirations, Generalizations from Research — April 1971
Dr. A. Dole

7. Comparison of Changes in Self-Image of Black and White Students, Kindergarten Through High School — Nov. 1970
Dr. Henry G. Cornwell

Summary of the Findings

A. The Future Plans of Coatesville Seniors

The survey instrument was the inventory, *You and Your Future*, by A. A. Dole. It was administered in May 1969 and repeated in two parts under standard procedures to the Senior Class by the Coatesville Area Senior High School Staff during the months of March and May 1970. The questionnaires were directed to two general questions.

1. How do black pupils in a senior high school compare with white pupils in respect to their post-high school plans;

2. What part does race play in the reported influences upon post-high school plans? Of special interest is the stability with which 1970 seniors answered compared to the 1969 graduates.

I. Respondents

In 1969 those who returned useable responses included:

Girls - 226	black - 47	white - 179
Boys - 196	black - 37	white - 159
422	84	338

Blacks 20%

In 1970 those who returned useable responses included:

Girls - 189	black - 32	white - 157
Boys - 153	black - 34	white - 119
342	66	276

Blacks 19%

II. Geographic Origins of the Sample

The Coatesville seniors of 1969 and 1970 are for the most part children of long established area residents. The large majority come from blue collar families.

III. Post-High School Plans

The confirmed plans in both years indicated plans to enter school as the first choice and go to work full time permanently as second choice. Among the male seniors of both year groups, "enter military service" was listed as their third choice, while females of both classes listed other plans as their third choice (e.g., becoming a housewife, relaxing, etc.). There were few differences between blacks and whites in expressed plans.

IV. Barriers

In the 1970 study as in the 1969 study, lack of money and the draft were major reported barriers to the attainment of post-high school plans for a small minority of the seniors.

V. Reported Determinants of Post-High School Plans

Analysis of the reported determinants of the 1970 seniors confirmed the relatively lower importance of external influences and vocational interests compared to personal reasons. This suggests a reassessment of traditional strategies in vocational guidance.

VI. Occupational Goals Inventory

The occupational goals of the 1970 seniors were predominantly professional (engineers, teachers, accountants) and semiprofessional (computer programmers, athletes, managerial or official). This finding confirmed the result of the 1969 senior survey. A larger percentage of the 1970 black male subgroup listed aspirations for semiprofessional and skilled occupations than the 1969 black male subgroups. Considerably more black females of the 1970 seniors planned to become housewives and were undecided about their plans than the 1969 group.

VII. An Interesting Conclusion by One of the Investigators.

"What about the basic question, 'Is vocational guidance racist?' From the vantage point of most white students, it is not, but for some who are capable of understanding social problems of the school, community, and nation, it is.

To the black student who feels that his needs and goals are not being considered, vocational guidance is perceived as racist. To him, though the words have changed, i.e. racism has replaced discrimination, the practice lingers on. Despite these feelings, many of the black youth have hope and determination."

B. Differences

Differences by race and by sex were not significant on perceived amount of "freedom" at graduation. However, the black males did report slightly more barriers to attaining their next plans.

The black groups differed from whites on altruistic values, school influence and science interest. There were significant sex differences on material values, altruistic values, and school influence. Determinants changed somewhat from 1969, especially

for race. Apparently school policies may make a difference, although value influences are more important than school influences (including guidance).

In 1969 and 1970 when life goals were measured, there were many more differences by sex than by race. In attitudes, values, interests, concerns, etc., about the future and their lives, these youngsters, regardless of race, tended to respond more like members of their own sex group. Boys were more money and success oriented and girls nurturant and people oriented.

In 1969 and 1970, black males reported more often than white males that free time activities and a counselor, who was also an athletic coach, exerted influence. The influence of a black home economics teacher was indicated by black females in 1970 responses.

C. Social Distance

Race as a component of social distance was studied through the use of a questionnaire which explored the interpersonal and inter-racial attitudes of black and white youths and their teachers. Four personal attributes were studied of people who were most likely to be influential. These were race, understanding others, competency and trustworthiness. They were asked to rate 17 persons on a scale. Respondents were asked to place each person in nine situations. This was measured on a five step scale of acceptability. The following were the findings in re Coatesville Area High School students and their teachers.

1. Blatant racism is not the climate of the school.

2. Teachers show the greatest acceptance and, as expected, place competence on the highest level.

3. Blacks and whites show clear preference for their own race.

4. Acceptance is rarely based on a single criterion.

5. All three groups place a premium on understanding or the need to be understood.

6. Blacks showed greater emphasis on race than whites and teachers. In considering other blacks they would stress trustworthiness and understanding.

7. White adolescents rate race lower than blacks.

D. Coatesville Parents of 1969 Seniors Survey Interviews.

1. How well do parents perceive child's occupational aspirations?

Parent perceptions, hopes, preferences, and expectations for child were matched with the child's hopes, preferences and expectations. Hits were defined liberally as any reasonable agreement.

41 parents of white males scored 24 hits	57.1%
29 parents of black males scored 14 hits	48.3
42 parents of white females scored 30 hits	71.5
31 parents of black females scored 17 hits	54.8
143 parents of all sample members scored 85 hits	59.4

Conclusion: Although not statistically significant, white parents were slightly more accurate. The parents in more than two-fifths of all instances were not accurate about their children.

2. Is college attendance related to high status aspirations on the part of both children and their parents?

Parent and child occupational aspirations were assigned Hatt-North SES values. Thirty-six of 41 instances combined high (over 70) SES occupations

with college attendance. No differences by sex or race.

Conclusion: College attendance is in part associated with high prestige occupational aspirations on the part both of the child and of his parents.

3. What happened to those seniors who planned at graduation from Coatesville to attend college or school within six months?

The responses of the seniors to the 1969 survey in Coatesville High School were matched against the responses of their parents in fall 1969 in respect to current major activity (attending school or college).

Of 41 white males, 22 or 54% had planned on college or school, and 20 with this plan, or 48% of the sample were attending a school or college.

Of 29 black males, 18 or 62% planned on college or school, and 8 with this plan, or 28% of the sample, were attending a school or college.

Of 42 white females, 21 or 50% had planned on college or school, and 17, or 42% of the sample were attending a school or college. (Two were reported to be doing nothing, just helping at home.)

Of 31 black females, 13 or 39% had planned on college or school and 10, or 32% of the sample were attending a school or college. (Seven were reported to be doing nothing, just helping at home.)

Conclusion: The black males in disproportionate numbers did not realize their educational aspirations. (A substantial group of black females neither went on to school, worked, or married.)

E. The Self-Image of Black and White Pupils Compared.

Dr. Henry Cornwell, who directed the study in self-esteem measured all five grade level students (2,567 from Kindergarten, 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th grades) by a variety of psychological tests. His findings are significant and have important bearing on race relations, administrative methods, and the curriculum content of the Coatesville Area School System. Here are some of the significant findings:

1. The kindergarten and 3rd grade black children apparently have a lower self-esteem than the white children. However, at the 12th grade, the situation is reversed and black children seem to have a higher self-esteem than the whites at that level.

2. The females have a tendency to show a higher self-esteem generally with the exception of the 9th grade.

3. Although students generally identify with mother, father, friends, and teachers, in that order, the black students tend to esteem father, friends, and teachers to a lover degree than the white students. Females indicate a closer relationship to teachers and friends.

4. Black students also show greater concentration on the individual and less social interest.

5. In general, there appears to be a decline in the importance in physical traits with an increase in the social and behavioral traits, beginning with the 9th grade level.

IV. Recommendations

1. Black students need special attention because their parents are less influential and are not aware of opportunities and community resources such as scholarships, tuition loans, college preparation programs, etc.

2. Black students need more career models. This implies that more black teachers should be on the teaching staff, and especially black counselors in the guidance department.

3. There is an apparent need for a follow-up in post-graduate work experiences. This will provide a guide as to the effectiveness of the counseling program, career selection, and the degree of permanence of those earlier choices.

4. Non-athletic black students and all students from low income families need greater counseling attention. They also apparently need greater involvement in non-curricular school activities.

5. It is apparent that there is a need for a more comprehensive understanding on the part of the average citizen as well as the local community business and industrial leaders that counseling is essential. The effective functioning of the school guidance program, and the contribution it makes to the economic and social health of a community would be aided by their support. It would require a concerted effort on the part of the school and other agencies to develop a program in community education to accomplish this.

6. The racial polarization as indicated in the social distance report needs particular attention on the part of the schools. First to develop a program of studies which cuts across all age groups in the school population. Secondly, since the school can not turn the community around, it is essential that major attention be paid to community education as indicated in item five. The average citizen today is tax conscious, especially in view of rising school costs. To build a more comprehensive school guidance and inter-racial education programs will require massive community backing. This can come about only if a wide program in community education is promoted with the cooperation of organized community groups.

7. The need for students to become community minded and less concentrated on self has been indicated. Therefore, a program for volunteer services in community endeavors should be introduced. Participation in community life may broaden their career horizons as well as contribute to racial understanding.

8. Problems for future research:

   (a) The drop in self-image of the black girl at the 9th grade level.

   (b) Factors which have influenced the reversal in self-image at the 12th grade.

   (c) A follow-up on career choices three or four years after graduation.

   (d) The extent of the interplay between area job potentialities in business and industry and the guidance program.

BLACK AND WHITE PERSPECTIVES ON THE FUTURE[1]

Arthur A. Dole and William R. Passons

Blacks have traditionally been under-represented in colleges, many trades, and professions and over-represented in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. However, this social situation may be changing. Certain industries have begun to court black prospects. Colleges and universities are reassessing the use of traditional admissions requirements for blacks and establishing helping programs to make equal educational opportunity more than revolving door flirtations. Recently, Herson (1965) concluded that race may be diminishing in importance as a variable in occupational choice.

In recent years sweeping efforts have been made to change the status of black Americans. With these changes has evolved the need to reassess traditional forces which may bear upon the plans of black youth. For example, older studies of reported influences upon high school plans (Roe, 1956, Dole, 1961) suggest that peers have more impact than parents, school personnel, or educational procedures. Within the framework of role theory Herriott (1963) examined the level of aspiration of high school students in Western Massachusetts. He concluded that level of aspiration varies with the level of self-assessment relative to others and level of assessment perceived from significant others. As in other studies, peers were highly influential, but school counselors were also highly related to educational aspiration. A major question is whether these findings stand up under cross-validation among blacks.

Previous studies of influence upon high school plans have not considered race as a variable. Inspection of the widely circulated Yearbook on the Disadvantaged Woody (1967) revealed little consideration of such topics as educational plans, occupational choice, or vocational opportunities. After summarizing studies on personal and sociological variables associated with the occupational choices of Negro youth, Herson remarked, "Little empirical evidence was found, however, establishing a relationship between amount and kind of guidance provided by the schools and the Negro youth's occupational choice, and it would seem that more study is needed in this area." (Herson, 1965, p.150).

Recently a few studies have been published on Negro motivation. For instance, Williams and Byars (1968) studied the relationship of self-esteem among blacks and related it to the conflicts in aspirations felt by black youth in our "transitional society". Gottlieb (1967) has investigated the motivation for becoming middle-class among black and white Job Corps youth. He questioned the myth that lower class subcultures have an inherent propensity for discouraging social mobility. A recent issue of the Journal of Social Issues (Epps, 1969) was devoted to the motivation and academic achievement of black Americans. The controversial Coleman Report on Equal Educational Opportunity, while a significant document on the effects of integration in the schools in a broad sense, was but a beginning for years of work to be conducted at local levels. (Pettigrew, 1968). However, Katz, after a critical review of the research literature concluded that "...psychologists have contributed little to the understanding of motivational problems of disadvantaged students. Scientific knowledge has barely advanced beyond the

[1]Prepared for presentation to the American Educational Research Association in Minneapolis, Minn., March 1970. The assistance of Sharyn Barbee and John Flor is gratefully acknowledged.

conventional wisdom of the teachers lounge...". (Epps, 1969, p.23).

Costerville Plans Project

The Costerville Plans Project is sponsored by the Costerville Public Schools, Lincoln University, and the University of Pennsylvania. (Costerville is a pseudonym for a small industrial city in a mid-Atlantic state.) It is concerned with the complex process of decision-making among black adolescents during a period of profound social change and with the influences of counselor, teacher, and parent.

The purpose of the present pilot study is to examine how black secondary school students differ from their white peers in their life planning and motivational patterns. Black and white males and females are compared on post-high school plans, occupational preference level, diversity of their occupational preferences, confidence in occupational hope, reported determinants of post-high school plans, and vocationally related concerns, interests and values.

METHOD

Sample

The subjects were members of the 1969 graduating class of Costerville Senior High School. Both the black and the white students had lived most of their lives in Costerville, and for the most part were the children and grandchildren of established, blue-collar families. The questionnaires were completed by 402 students. To be classified as usable the respondent, on audit, had to have completed most of the items and to have indicated membership in the black or white racial group. Of 226 girls 95% submitted usable protocols. Acceptable protocols were obtained from 196 male seniors (89%). Since males differ in major respects from females in career development, the sexes were treated separately. In sum, there were four subgroups consisting of 37 black males, 47 black females, 137 white males and 144 white females.

Instruments

Two instruments were used in the study. You and Your Future, adapted for use in Costerville from previous applications in Hawaii and California (Dole, 1961, 1964, 1969), includes 88 self-report items, tapping personal and social characteristics, post high school plans, determinants of preferred post high school plans, and occupational aspirations and expectations. Also, the instrument yields eight scale scores, measuring determinants of post high school plans and derived from previous factor analyses. (See Appendix A). Also included was the Life Goals Inventory, an open-ended measure of career attitudes and interests, which yields 29 scores. (See Appendix A). Both instruments were administered to the students in groups by Costerville Senior High School under standard procedures in June, 1969, just prior to graduation.

Data Analyses

Responses to both instruments were coded, punched on IBM cards, and treated comparatively with chi-square or simple analysis of variance to test differences

for significance. In addition supplementary analyses were made of each item and all items were factor analyzed. Results of these studies will not be reported here but will be used in the discussion section. Present comparative results should be considered as possible leads for further investigation rather than as definitive. Additional analyses are in progress as well as a replication on the 1970 graduating class.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Plans After Graduation

Since when young people leave secondary school they may follow a variety of plans (work, military service, education, etc.) within a brief time, each senior was asked to respond to each of 12 possible plans "within six months after graduation." "Go to work temporarily" was the most popular plan for all four subgroups and was endorsed by approximately four out of every ten respondents. For the white males and females "Enter a four-year college" followed in popularity. Approximately three out of every ten white respondents checked this option. In contrast, "Go to work full time permanently" was the second most popular plan for the black seniors. Of interest is that the black senior males were more interested in some form of further education, except for four-year college, than were the other subgroups. The options, "Enter a two-year college", "Enter a business or commercial school", and "Enter other schools", when combined, were endorsed by approximately half of the black male respondents. A separate analysis, treating plans after graduation as a co-variant, is in progress.

Occupational Level

The Costerville seniors were presented with a list of 93 pre-tested occupational titles. Responses to "Which one would you like to be?" were grouped for analysis according to a modification of the occupational level classification system developed by the U.S. Department of Labor (Table 1). As is typical of high school students, aspirations for white collar occupations predominated and far exceeded projected available opportunities. Somewhat more than their white peers the black Costerville seniors chose semi-professional (entertainers, athletes,) and clerical vocational goals.

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INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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To test for significance, the goals were collapsed into high level and low level categories. Of 93 occupational titles presented, 71 were checked by one or more of these students. Written responses to the option, "other" provided 33 different, additional occupational titles supplied by 47 respondents. Of the 104 different titles thus obtained, 76 were considered high level or white collar. That is, they were classified as professional, semi-professional, managerial, sales or clerical by the D.O.T.; they required considerable cognitive skill and formal education; and traditionally they have included relatively few black workers. The remaining 28 titles were categorized low level--blue collar or "apron" activities. They included skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, domestic service and

housewife classifications.

As indicated at the bottom of Table 1, the black seniors, especially the females, tended to narrow their range to the high level occupational titles more frequently than the white seniors. This avoidance of the low level, easy entry, titles may represent a new spirit on the part of these young people. A follow-up would be valuable eventually in determining whether such "high hopes" were a function of lack of appreciation of reality, defensive overaspiration, or a recognition of newly opening, real, non-traditional opportunities.

Diversity Among Occupational Preferences

Because entry into many occupations has been more restricted for blacks than for whites, diversification was selected for analysis. Diversification of occupational preference was defined as the number of different occupations chosen by a group, adjusted for the size of the group. In a group with a maximum diversification index of 1.00 each person would have selected a different occupation. In contrast, a group with low diversification would have limited its choices to a small proportion of occupations. The diversification indices for the four subgroups are reported in Table 2.

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INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

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The black males showed the highest diversification index (0.84) among the total occupational preferences. Also, a chi-square analysis revealed that the black males demonstrated a diversity among the total occupational preferences that was significantly greater than the other three subgroups.

Chi-square analyses were also used to examine diversification within and between high and low occupational levels. The data indicated that the black males, in comparison to the other subgroups, were significantly more diverse in their choices within both the high level and the low level occupations. In none of the four subgroups were significant differences noted in the extent of diversity between high and low level occupations.

In comparing whites with blacks within the sex groupings, we consider the discrepancy index as a rough, approximate measure. Because of the large discrepancies in size, it is difficult to make a precise adjustment for unequal N's. (Note that when N> K, the maximum possible index falls below 1.00). It may be then that the higher diversity index for black males than for other groups is some sort of artifact. We prefer to assume that it represents a real, differential response to a perceived increase across the range of opportunities. A man who has lived for years on pork and beans may be more likely to heap his plate at a smorgasbord with a little bit of everything than someone who has had a broader diet.

Confidence in Occupational Hope

The students indicated their confidence in the likelihood "That ten years from today you would actually be working in the occupation you listed above as your first choice" (Table 3). All four groups tended to give odds of 10 to 1 or

higher that they would indeed be in their occupational choice ten years after graduation. However, the black males were slightly less confident than the other groups and the black females were more frequently frank to say "I don't know". (Note that the differences between groups should be interpreted cautiously as a test of statistical significance reached only the 20 percent level of probability.) In light of follow-up studies of high school populations which indicate that fewer than one out of three actually attain stated occupational aspirations and that occupational choices are notoriously unstable among young people, it seems safe to conclude that these seniors were probably unreasonably optimistic at the time they graduated. Whether guidance programs should develop realists and dampen high hopes is another point for careful consideration and discussion. One obvious risk is that if a guidance specialist objectively presents the facts of occupational availability and the probabilities of attainment, his well intended efforts may be interpreted as prejudice, especially if the counselor is white and the student is black. A second risk is that a teacher or counselor who is consciously or unconsciously racist will misunderstand and misuse this sort of information.

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Reported Determinants

What determined the senior's next plans after graduation? Mean scores on eight determinant scales are reported in Table 4. Each scale measures the degree of importance of the determinant to immediate post high school plans. The mean scale values have been adjusted for an unequal number of items. (The results of analyses by item, factor analyses, as well as analyses of variance are available in supplementary tables.)

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The three determinants of most importance to the subjects were Material Value, Academic Value and Altruistic Value. No significant differences by race were noted among these variables. That is to say, desire to provide for oneself, identification with scholastic activities, and concern for others were not related to racial differences. As expected, females, especially the white females, had higher Altruistic Value scores, suggesting strong interests in parenthood and children.

Race Differences were noted on three of the determinants. On Conformity the blacks, especially the males, were more influenced than the whites by significant others such as parents, peers, and relatives. Consistent with this was the finding that black students of both sexes assigned significantly more importance to School Influence as represented by teachers, counselors, tests, and career days. Also, black students, particularly the males, placed significantly more importance on Humanities Interest (art and music) although it was of little relative importance.

If value determinants rather than direct influences or interests were indeed most influential in planning and if values were relatively independent of race,

there may be an important implication for those concerned with guidance. These young people may have been looking more within themselves, basing their decisions on self-defined values, rather than relying upon external influences such as school procedures or friends or on their like or dislike of a specific activity. Assuming that the value determinants were measures of internal control, then it may follow that the black seniors as well as the whites accepted the system at the time of graduation.

Life Goals Inventory

The Life Goals Inventory is an open-ended measure of concerns related to personal aims, quests, interests, values, and ambitions. Scores on each of 29 categories are assigned according to a precoded classification system and may range from 0 to 20. In assessing groups rather than individuals a mean score above 1.00 on any category is considered to reflect an important characteristic of that group. In Table 5 the mean scores on the Life Goals Inventory of the black and white seniors have been presented in approximate order of frequency. (Results of analyses of variance are reported in supplementary tables.) Each category of the Life Goals Inventory is defined in detail in Appendix A. Note that factor analyses and intercorrelations have yielded low relationships between LGI categories and determinants despite apparent similarities in content. See also Dole, 1958, on the classification of sentence completions.

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INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

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Clearly, differences between groups on the inventory were much more frequently a function of sex than of race. Differences between males and females, in general, are consistent with such differences on other measures of interest, values, and concerns and with differences in other studies in which the Life Goals Inventory or the Vocational Sentence Completion Blank has been used.

On the Life Goals Inventory each of the four subgroups of Costerville seniors stressed Recreational activities (sports, social life), Satisfaction (happiness), Other People (friends), and Achievement (success). All groups averaged approximately three on Other--that is three completions which could not be classified.

Although blacks and whites tended to respond similarly to this instrument, they did differ significantly in a few categories. The black seniors were lower on Satisfaction, more likely to Omit a response, suggesting perhaps less willingness to reveal themselves, they were more interested in Household Arts such as cooking, and they were less likely to prize Relaxation. Although very few of these seniors volunteered any interest in Scientific activity the black males and females were even less inclined in this direction than the whites.

AN INTERPRETATION

The authors presuppose a sequential working model of career development in which at crucial choice points--or transitions from one educational-vocational position to another--the influences upon the individual are multiple and complex.

In this study we have emphasized perspectives on the future reported by blacks and whites from a stable, working class, industrial community. These young people were just about to leave high school at a time of profound social change.

Confirming studies in this series of black pupils in Oakland and of Oriental Americans in Hawaii (Dole, 1961, 1969), differences in attitudes and occupational aspirations were frequently associated with sex role. Although on most variables the black seniors did not differ from their white peers when sex was controlled, they did respond distinctively in a number of respects. The black males and females showed a narrower range of occupational level than their white peers, perhaps overaspiring defensively. Compared to the white males, the black males were more diverse in their occupational choices and less confident of attaining them; they were more influenced by school procedures, and were more likely to conform to the expectations of significant others. There was a hint in some of the data that the black females looked forward to a coping role rather than to the traditional helping role.

Both black and white youngsters, like other groups at their developmental level, stressed Material, Achievement, and Recreational (fun) considerations; yet in contrast to the whites the black young men and women were less inclined toward Satisfaction and Relaxation (pursuit of happiness?) and less willing to reveal themselves. They seemed slightly more "up tight" but not militant. To generalize, perhaps they were prepared to strive for success and the good things in life through education and work, but, realistically foresaw a serious endeavor in which one must keep his cool.

On the basis of current research on black and white youth several variables seem especially promising for further study in relation to perspectives on the future. For instance, internal vs. external controls, geographic origin, socio-economic status, exposure to models, developed abilities and skills, and family and community expectations and reinforcement patterns. Progress in educational, social and developmental psychology, in addition to clinical observation and interviews in the field, may yield additional hypotheses. Eventually they may provide sound strategies for facilitating the integration of the disadvantaged into American society. Although the times are troubled, we are at the beginning of an exciting period in educational research.

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TABLE 1

RANGE OF OCCUPATIONAL GOALS CLASSIFIED BY LEVEL

Occupational Goal	Males		Females	
Of 93 occupational titles "Which one would you most like to be?" Titles then classified by level.	% Blacks (N=37)	% Whites (N=137)	% Blacks (N=47)	% Whites (N=144)
Professional	24	22	30	37
Semi-professional	22	15	15	5
Managerial or official	8	12	2	1
Clerical or sales	--	1	21	11
Domestic, personal service, or protective	11	2	9	12
Skilled	14	19	2	1
Semi-skilled	--	3	--	3
Unskilled	--	4	--	--
Housewife	--	--	9	10
Other, don't know, no answer	21	22	12	20
Goal Classified by Level				
High level[1]	65	58	87	73
Low level	35	42	13	27

$X^2 = 15.59$,**3df

[1]Includes professional, semi-professional, managerial, clerical or sales, and other write-ins classified as above.

*p < .05
**p < .01

Costerville Project

TABLE 2

DIVERSITY[1] OF PREFERENCES AMONG OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS

Preferred Level	Males		Females		Total
	Blacks (N=37)	Whites (N=137)	Blacks (N=47)	Whites (N=144)	
High (K=76)	0.79	0.49	0.40	0.35	0.45
Low (K=24)	0.92	0.41	0.50	0.34	0.45
Total (K=104)	0.84	0.46	0.43	0.35	0.45

Chi-Square of Diversity Within High and Low Level

High	5.81*	0.25	0.44	2.17	8.67*(3df)
Low	6.00*	----	0.16	0.89	7.05 (3df)

Chi-Square Between High and Low Level

High vs Low	2.08	0.50	2.66	0.22	5.56 (3df)

Chi-Square By Total Occupational Preferences

Total	12.24*	0.57	0.27	3.38	16.46**(3df)

[1]Diversity represents K/N when K=number of different occupations chosen by group and N=number of individuals in group. 1.00=maximum diversity.

*p > .05
**p > .01

TABLE 3

CONFIDENCE IN OCCUPATIONAL HOPE

Confidence	Males		Females	
"Suppose you are a gambler. What odds would you give that ten years from today you would actually be working in the occupation you listed above as your first choice?"	% Blacks (N=37)	% Whites (N=137)	% Blacks (N=47)	% Whites (N=144)
1000 to 1. Almost certain I will be in that occupation.	8	20	19	20
100 to 1. Highly likely that I will be in that occupation.	11	17	11	17
10 to 1. Pretty likely that I will but maybe I won't be in the occupation.	16	15	19	14
1 to 1. Odds about even. Maybe I will but maybe I won't be in the occupation.	38	23	11	23
1 in 10. Realistically it's pretty unlikely that I'll be in the occupation.	4	2	2	2
1 in 100. In fact, it's highly unlikely that I will be in the occupation.	--	4	4	2
1 in 1000. Almost certain I will not be in that occupation.	3	5	2	3
I really don't know.	11	10	26	10
No answer.	2	4	6	7

$x^2 = 21.69$ (df = 15)

TABLE 4

MEAN SCORES ON DETERMINANT SCALES

Determinant Scale	Males		Females		ANOVA		
	Blacks (N=37)	Whites (N=137)	Blacks (N=47)	Whites (N=144)	Sex	Race	SXR
Material Value	1.46	1.40	1.41	1.41	--	--	--
Academic Value	1.42	1.34	1.37	1.47	--	--	--
Altruistic Value	1.25	1.09	1.25	1.37	*	--	*
Conformity	1.29	1.03	1.08	1.08	--	*	*
Experience	0.98	0.90	0.93	0.88	--	--	--
School Influence	0.91	0.70	0.77	0.70	--	**	--
Science Interest	0.78	0.74	0.50	0.54	**	--	--
Humanities Interest	0.76	0.41	0.54	0.47	--	**	*

Note: Mean scale values represent degree of importance, adjusted for unequal number of items.

0=of no importance, 1=of some importance, 2=of great importance.

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

TABLE 5

MEAN SCORES ON LIFE GOALS INVENTORY

Category	Males		Females		ANOVA		
	Blacks (N=37)	Whites (N=137)	Blacks (N=47)	Whites (N=144)	Sex	Race	SXR
Recreational	3.51	3.68	2.51	3.43	--	--	--
Other	2.89	3.50	2.87	2.89			
Satisfaction	1.79	2.03	1.46	2.82	**	**	--
Material	1.76	1.64	0.72	0.49	*	--	--
Other People	1.70	1.25	2.94	2.78	**	--	--
Omit	1.65	0.63	0.79	0.38	**	**	--
Achievement	1.32	1.60	1.21	1.28	--	--	--
Effectiveness	1.00	0.74	0.94	1.16	--	--	--
Vocational	0.87	0.94	1.09	0.99	--	--	--
Social Service	0.73	0.45	1.66	1.47	**	--	--
Independence	0.60	0.93	1.21	1.10	**	--	--
Domestic	0.50	0.60	1.40	1.81	**	--	--
Academic	0.51	0.46	0.79	0.61	*	--	--
Problem	0.51	0.64	0.74	0.57	--	--	--
Mechanical	0.57	1.23	0.11	0.11			
Household Arts	0.19	0.04	1.23	0.60	**	**	*
Intellectual	0.49	0.48	0.57	0.60	--	--	--
Relaxation	0.30	0.69	0.26	0.45	--	**	--
Persuasive	0.43	0.26	0.13	0.06	**	--	--
Artistic	0.43	0.20	0.02	0.17	*	--	--
Literary	0.30	0.21	0.62	0.46	**	--	--
Outdoor	0.24	0.30	0.23	0.56	--	--	--
Active	0.24	0.22	0.13	0.31	--	--	--
Musical	0.19	0.12	0.19	0.17	--	--	--
Recognition	0.11	0.24	0.43	0.11	**	--	--
Computational	0.11	0.17	0.19	0.18	--	--	--
Scientific	0.03	0.18	0.02	0.09	--	*	--
Armed Forces	0.05	0.04	----	0.01	**	--	--
Clerical	----	----	0.21	0.11	**	--	--

*p < .05
**p < .01

APPENDIX A

DEFINITION OF DETERMINANT SCALES

Each scale measures reported degree of importance in determining immediate post-high school plans.

Conformity--Value of prestige; influence of parents, peers, and relatives.
Academic Value--Influence of classes; value of aptitude for speciality, opportunity for specialization, and satisfaction; interest in ideas and words.
Material Value--Value of practicality, security, potential income, independence and advancement.
Altruistic Value--Value of serving others, self-improvement, and parenthood; interest in children and youth.
School Influence--Influence of teacher, counselor, tests, and career day.
Experience--Influence of work experience, movies and TV, people in field, and work with adults.
Science Interest--Influence of hobby and free time activities; interest in machines, numbers, science, and plants.
Humanities Interest--Interest in music and art.

DEFINITION OF CATEGORIES ON LIFE GOALS

Each category measures the number of sentence completions. Stems are designed to elicit open-ended statements about interests, values, hopes, quests, aspirations and concerns.

Recreational--Leisure time activities such as football, watching TV, writing letters, dancing, reading novels, travel, making love, and being with one's girl friend.

Other--All responses not elsewhere classified such as religious topics, world affairs, personal references, nonsense, and ambiguities.

Satisfaction--A desire for gratification, happiness, interest, liking or enjoyment.

Material--The attainment of some tangible objective such as money, a new car, house, or fur coat.

Other People--Positive statements about friends, other persons or consideration for others, sociality, liking to be with other people, esteeming qualities of friendliness, understanding.

Omit--Any failures to complete sentences.

Achievement--Expressions of goal attainment such as success, accomplishment, doing one's best.

Effectiveness--Desire for smooth functioning, for attractive personal qualities such as ability, charm, or competence.

Vocational--General expressions related to work, career planning or a job, also the future or to one's life role.

Social Service--Helping people, interest in the behavioral sciences such as sociology, psychology, economics; citizenship, enjoying children, foreign peoples; hope to be teacher, doctor, nurse.

Independence--Free to act as one pleases, being on one's own.

Domestic--Family living, marriage, having children.

Academic--Education and formal learning such as liking school, wishing to

graduate, grades.

Problem--Personal problems or feelings of tension; bad health, fear, anxiety, depression.

Mechanical--Activities in which hands, machines or tools are used; as engineering, model cars, or building things.

Household Arts--Homemaking activities such as sewing, cooking, or cleaning. Study of home economics, occupations such as cook, cafeteria manager.

Intellectual--Activities requiring the use of the subject's mental equipment, planning, talking; qualities of originality, curiosity, intelligence.

Relaxation--General emphasis on being relaxed, absence of activity, sleep.

Persuasive--Leadership, control, competition or operation upon others as in selling, business.

Artistic--Creative activities, drawing, designing, architecture, painting.

Literary--Essentially verbal activities such as study of English, history, languages; occupations like writer, lawyer, journalist; writing reports, reading non-fiction or classics.

Outdoor--Specific activities conducted primarily outdoors; such occupations as farming, fishing, veterinarian; hobbies of gardening, hunting, fishing, liking for sea.

Active--Physical activity or variety, keeping busy, disliking routines or passivity.

Musical--Playing an instrument, singing, conducting, enjoying jazz records.

Recognition--Desire for fame, approval of others, acceptance or love from others.

Computational--Number operations as in mathematics, accounting.

Scientific--Biological and physical sciences, physics, chemistry, geology, experimenting.

Armed Forces--Military activities. Interest in Army, Navy, or Marines or in reading about war. Aspirations for military roles such as general, captain, sergeant.

Clerical--Office work requiring precision and accuracy, typing, filing.

RACE AS A COMPONENT OF SOCIAL DISTANCE AMONG BLACK AND WHITE SECONDARY STUDENTS AND THEIR TEACHERS[1]

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Among the most pressing concerns confronting our society are the schisms between the various subcultures, especially blacks and whites. Racial preferences are acquired early (Asher & Allen, 1969) and persevere. However, there is currently a surgence of pride in being black, particularly among adolescents (Banks, 1970). During this period of social change it seems appropriate to explore interpersonal and interracial attitudes among black and white youth.

The concept of social distance offers a framework for approaching this problem. Bogardus (1933) suggests that there are varying degrees of interpersonal intimacy on which a person may accept another. In addition social distance reflects the multitudinous interactions between accepting another and personnal characteristics of the other (Triandis & Triandis, 1960). These personal characteristics, when employed as criteria for interpersonal attraction, are considered components of social distance--the willingness to associate with another person or group.

In the present study four characteristics were employed as components of social distance. They were race, ability to understand others, competency, and trustworthiness. These four components of social distance were expressly selected for their relevance as important personal characteristics of influence sources. (Simons, Berkowitz, and Moyer, 1970; Strong, 1968) Influences on attitudes and behavior are a function of the message itself, the nature of the audience, and the characteristics of the source (Zimbardo & Ebbesen, 1969). Within this theoretical framework it is assumed that as social distance lessens or interpersonal attraction increases the degree of interpersonal influence over attitudes and behavior increases (Kiesler & Kiesler, 1969). It was felt that employing these personal attributes as components of social distance might shed some light on the question: What sorts of persons are most likely to be received as influence sources by black and white youths?

On the basis of previous research (Shim & Dole, 1967; Triandis & Triandis, 1960) it was predicted that all four components would significantly contribute to social distance but in varying amounts. Also of interest was the question: How do black and white youth and their teachers compare on the relative importance attributed to race, understanding others, competency, and trustworthiness as criteria for accepting others?

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METHOD

Setting

Costerville is a small Northeastern industrial city with a population of approximately 40,000. Its citizens are well established, predominantly working class, and approximately one-fourth black. In the past few years there have been a number of incidents reflecting increased militance on the part of the younger black group. The public schools are modern and integrated. Costerville is particularly appropriate for a study of interpersonal attitudes because it is typical in many respects of small American cities during a period of rapid social change.

Subjects

The subjects were graduating seniors and teachers in Costerville's public secondary school. The data were collected in the late Spring of 1970. School personnel administered the research instrument through social studies classes. To encourage frankness names were not required. Race was determined by self-report. After auditing the protocols for completeness and cooperation the final samples included 48 black seniors and 208 white seniors. In addition 52 teachers, 51 of who were white, completed the instrument.

Instrument

A social distance technique originated by Bogardus (1933), expanded upon by Westie (1953) and Triandis and Triandis (1960), and more recently modified by Shim and Dole (1967), was adapted for this research. Each of two dimensions of the four components was randomly combined, yielding 16 hypothetical stimulus persons representing all possible permutations. The four two-dimensional components and their descriptive terms were: (1) understanding--"understands others" (able to perceive clearly the nature of another person's behavior; knows how others feel) or "lacks understanding of others"; (2) competence--"highly competent" (qualified, trained, capable of fulfilling all requirements) or "barely competent"; (3) trustworthiness--"trustworthy" (can be depended upon; will keep a confidence, reliable, honest, sincere) or "sometimes untrustworthy"; (4) race--"white American" or "black American."

As a measure of subject cooperation and a control on race a 17th hypothetical stimulus person was introduced whose description combined the components of "understands others," "trustworthy," and "highly competent" with "citizen of Turnia." Thus, Turnia, a nonexistent country, replaced the racial term. (It should be noted that respondents were asked whether they were personally acquainted with any person like each stimulus person. On auditing, the few subjects who claimed to know someone from Turnia were discarded from the study.)

Subjects were asked to rate the 17 stimulus persons on each of nine social distance steps using a five point Likert scale. The successive social distance steps originated with Bogardus and were modified for the purpose of this study. For each stimulus person (see Table 1) respondents were asked: "Would you accept this person as a (1) member of your immediate family? (2) personal counselor on intimate problems? (3) close friend? (4) next door neighbor? (5) teacher in your neighborhood elementary school? (6) employee on same job with you? (7) speaking acquaintance? (8)

pupil in your family's school? (9) voter in your precinct?" For each of the nine social distance steps S's were instructed to "indicate your acceptance of each person in each situation as follows: 5--absolutely accept; 4--probably accept; 3--not sure or cannot say; 2--probably not accept; and 1--absolutely not accept." A score of 45, then, represents highest acceptance, while 9 is the lowest possible acceptance score for each stimulus person.

Statistical Analyses

Means were computed on the degree of acceptance of all 17 of the stimulus persons and comparisons among the three samples were analyzed by t-tests (Hays, 1963). The stimulus person who was a "citizen of Turnia" was then dropped leaving 16 stimulus persons for the subsequent analyses. Each of the eight component scores was computed by averaging scores for the stimulus persons characterized by the dimension of the component, e.g., eight stimulus persons were described as "trustworthy," eight as "sometimes untrustworthy," etc. T-tests for independent means were computed to compare the three groups on the component scores. Four-factor (2x2x2x2) analyses of variance were computed on the stimulus person scores within each sample in order to ascertain the proportion of variance contributed by each of the four components to the total social distance score (Triandis & Triandis, 1960).

RESULTS

Stimulus Persons

Table 1 contains the means of the three samples on social distance scores attributed to the 17 stimulus persons.

Place Table 1 about here.

For all three samples the three highest ranking stimulus persons--those most willingly accepted--were characterized by "understands others," "highly competent," and "trustworthy." The least desirable stimulus person for all three groups was described by the opposite dimension of these components. The white groups responded more favorably to "white American" than to "black American" and the black students preferred "black American." However, when race was controlled by attributing origin to Turnia (Stimulus person 3) there were no differences among the three samples. The three groups were in general agreement on the relative acceptance of the stimulus persons. Rank-order correlations were white students vs. black students (.94), white students vs. teachers (.99). and black students vs. teachers (.95).

Comparisons among the three groups on the stimulus persons are reported in Table 1. Asterisks in the three columns on the right represent significance levels of t-tests. For example, in their acceptance of stimulus person 1, white students were significantly (.01) higher than black students, teachers were significantly (.01) higher than black students, and the difference between teachers and white students was not significant.

Significant differences were noted between black and white students on 11 stimulus persons. In all eight cases where the stimulus person was described as "black American" the black students were significantly more accepting than the white students. When teachers and black students were compared, significant differences were found on nine stimulus persons. Teachers and white students differed significantly on four stimulus persons. In sum, while there was considerable agreement between white students and teachers, the acceptance patterns of black students were quite disparate from those of the white students and teachers.

Component Scores

Table 2 contains means of the three groups on eight component scores. Significance levels of t-tests used to test differences between groups are reported on the right.

Place Table 2 about here.

In comparison with the black students the white students were more accepting of "white American." Black students were more favorable toward "black American," "barely competent," "lacks understanding of others," and "sometimes untrustworthy." Teachers, in contrast to black students, demonstrated higher values on "trustworthy," "highly competent," and "white American," and lower acceptance of "black American." Teachers, when compared to white students, were more favorably disposed on "trustworthy," "understands others," "highly competent," "black American," and "lacks understanding of others."

Component Variance

As hypothesized, all four components were significant contributing sources to social distance. With one exception, for all three groups the proportion of social distance variance (Table 3) contributed by each of the four components yielded F-

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Place Table 3 about here.

---

ratios significant beyond the .001 level. For teachers, the racial component was significant at the .02 level. Within each group the proportion of variance among the four components was distributed differently from the other two groups; no one component contributed more than a quarter of the variance across the three groups. However, for all three groups trustworthiness and understanding in combination contributed over half the variance. Race accounted for more variance among the black students (27%) than among white students (11%) or teachers (1%). Competence played a greater part in the acceptance of others by teachers (30%) than by white students (22%) or black students (17%). While a few interactions among components were statistically significant, in no instance did their total exceed 8 percent.

DISCUSSION

Stimulus Persons

Among these young people and their teachers hypothetical persons described as "highly competent," "understand others," and "trustworthy" were the most acceptable irregardless of race. This finding suggests that blatant racism, at least on an attitudinal level, is not a major characteristic of the interpersonal climate in this school. Also, the black American who is concerned about narrowing his social distance from white peers or teachers may find that variables other than his race will have importance. The finding that black students, in comparison with white students, were significantly more accepting of all eight "black American" stimulus persons may be an indication of emergent black identify and pride among these youth. Interestingly, however, this was not accompanied by a rejection of the eight "white American" stimulus persons; thus the black students demonstrated greater overall tolerance than did the white students.

Component Scores

With one exception inspection of the component scores revealed that in every significant difference between teachers and students, the teachers showed greater acceptance. It is encouraging that the teachers were higher on overall acceptance than their students. In our view this fits with the conception of the American public school as an agent for increasing tolerance in the culture (Shim and Dole, 1967). Black and white students found the positive dimensions of the components equally attractive but the white students were significantly less propitious toward the negative aspects. It may be that the black person, having been the target of racial abuse, has developed more of a "live and let live" attitude. On the racial component black and white students both showed clear preferences for members of their own race.

Component Variance

Each of the four components, while carrying different weights among the three groups, did contribute significantly to social distance. These results are consistent with the theory that the acceptance of another person is rarely based on a single criterion.

Trustworthiness, clearly the most important component among the white students and teachers was not so highly valued by the black students. This may be a statistical artifact of the relatively larger proportion of social distance variance accounted for by race among the black students. Also, trust may be more characteristic of white middle-class values.

All three groups placed a premium on understanding. This personal characteristic, long since identified as pivotal to meaningful interpersonal relationships, appears to be important to both blacks and whites. Needing to be understood is a human quality that apparently transcends race.

There was considerable diversification among the three groups on the importance

attributed to competence. The relatively low status attributed to competence by blacks may be a cultural artifact. Our field observations suggested that the black youngsters from working class families may not associate with many persons who are "qualified, trained, capable of fulfilling all requirements." As such they may have lower expectancies for competency levels and thus deem it less important as a criterion for accepting another. This speculation is in part validated by the greater acceptance by blacks of those who are "barely competent." Nor is it surprising that teachers, aware of their own needs to be competent and dedicated to "training" and "qualifying" people, would place a high value on competence.

It is on the matter of race that the three groups were most sharply divided. Black youths placed a greater emphasis on race in accepting others. However, among the blacks it was noted that trustworthiness and understanding were attributed slightly more importance than race, suggesting that these factors would effect acceptance between two black persons. White adolescents weighted race lower as an acceptance criterion. On the whole teachers were less concerned about race as a component of social distance. These findings suggest that race is a more powerful determinant of interpersonal attraction among blacks than among whites.

Implications

The main implication of this study is that interracial attitudes should not be considered unidimensional. Acceptance and interaction between persons of different races are not a function of race alone. Rather they are multiply determined. Differentiation among the components of social distance can lead to a greater understanding of interracial attitudes.

The finding that black and white students showed clear preferences for members of their own race has several implications. First, it suggests that human relations training (Carkhuff & Banks, 1970) may have a legitimate place in the schools. Second, friendship patterns among black and white students have important implications. Coleman et al. (1966) found that having close white friends and being in a classroom where "more than half" the students were white contributed to black students having higher achievement scores and college aspirations. A third implication can be drawn in terms of influence sources on attitudes and behavior change. It may be that black students are more open to influence from other blacks in areas of close interpersonal relationships, such as counseling (Strangers & Riccio, 1970).

Directions for further research are implied. Analyses similar to those in this study could be computed at the several points on the social distance continuum. Determinants of acceptance may vary considerably when thinking of a "close friend" as opposed to a "voter in your precinct." Furthermore, a social distance scale could be constructed with a social distance continuum limited to interpersonal relationships within the school.

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TABLE 1

Means and Comparisons of Social Distance Scores

Attributed to Stimulus Persons

Stimulus Persons	Subjects			Comparisons		
	White Students (N=208)	Black Students (N=48)	Teachers (N=52)	White Students vs Black Students	Black Students vs Teachers	Teachers vs White Students
1. Highly competent, understands others, white American, trustworthy.	41.07	34.85	42.87	**	**	--
2. Understands others, black American, Highly competent, trustworthy.	35.29	38.58	42.14	*	**	**
3. Understands others, trustworthy, highly competent, citizen of Turnia.	34.68	33.17	34.54	--	--	--
4. Trustworthy, white American, barely competent, understands others.	32.10	28.17	31.39	**	*	--
5. Lacks understanding of others, highly competent, trustworthy, white American.	31.10	27.38	32.39	**	**	--
6. Understands others, sometimes untrustworthy, highly competent, white American.	30.00	28.17	31.73	--	*	--
7. Barely competent, trustworthy, understands others, black American.	27.81	31.56	30.02	**	--	--
8. Black American, highly competent, sometimes untrustowrthy, understands others.	27.72	33.00	30.44	**	--	*
9. Barely competent, white American, lacks understanding of others, trustworthy.	27.18	24.90	27.67	--	--	--

TABLE 1 (con't)

Stimulus Persons	White Students (N=208)	Black Students (N=48)	Teachers (N=52)	White Students vs Black Students	Black Students vs Teachers	Teachers vs White Students
10. Highly competent, lacks understanding of others, trustworthy, black American.	26.75	31.13	31.94	**	--	**
11. White American, sometimes untrustworthy, understands others, barely competent.	26.32	24.52	26.17	--	--	--
12. Sometimes untrustworthy, lacks understanding of others, white American, highly competent.	25.57	23.69	26.21	--	--	--
13. Black American, lacks understanding of others, trustworthy, barely competent.	24.12	30.02	27.48	**	*	**
14. Lacks understanding of others, highly competent, black American, sometimes untrustworthy.	23.04	27.29	24.39	**	*	--
15. Black American, sometimes untrustworthy, barely competent, understands others.	21.76	29.00	23.44	**	**	--
16. White American, barely competent, sometimes untrustworthy, lacks understanding of others.	21.20	22.75	21.37	--	--	--
17. Sometimes untrustworthy, black American, barely competent, lacks understanding of others.	19.46	25.65	21.29	**	**	--

* t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .05 level.

** t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .01 level.

TABLE 2

Means and Comparisons of Component Scores

Components	Subjects			Comparisons		
	White Students	Black Students	Teachers	White Students vs Black Students	Black Students vs Teachers	Teachers vs White Students
Trustworthy	30.68	30.83	33.24	--	*	**
Understands others	30.25	30.98	32.27	--	--	*
Highly Competent	30.06	30.51	32.76	--	*	**
White American	29.31	26.80	29.99	**	**	--
Black American	25.74	30.78	28.89	**	*	**
Barely Competent	24.99	27.08	26.10	*	--	--
Lacks understanding of others	24.80	26.60	26.59	*	--	*
Sometimes untrustworthy	24.38	26.76	25.73	**	--	--

* t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .05 level.

** t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .01 level.

TABLE 3

Proportion of Social Distance Variance

Accounted for by Each Component

Source	White Students	Black Students	Teachers
Trustworthiness	35%	24%	39%
Understanding	26	28	22
Competence	22	17	30
Race	11	23	1
Subjects and Interactions	6	8	8
Total	100	100	100